1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

The influence of the
791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son
662 Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
508 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

796 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-aï, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-aï appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Enyor sii 'n-gera 'l-figanai-yok nalefig, einos sii 'l-tufiganak kituak, kake mme nalefig.

Nemeinos il-Maasae kulye-tōkitin opa, eton eata 'n-gīshu, kake einosita taata 'n-daĩki pôkin oo-'l-meek, anaa 'l-paek, o ol-mishēli, oo 'l-mariko, oo 'n-gulye-daĩki e-'n-gop, amu meata 'n-gīshu kumok anaa opa.

Pôki en-dōki nemeinos, e-matwa ake. Nemeinos il-mōtōnyi, oo 'singir[2], oo 'n-giri oo-'l-chafigit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much.

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1].

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chafigit.

Menya 'l-Maasae 'l-chafigit opa eton eata 'n-gīshu pôkin; kake eiter kulikae áinos taata 'l-chafigit anaa 'l-Torōbo, amu etumutate 'n-gīshu.

Ten ēar il-ayok il-tōmen, naa 'l-ala ake eitauni, nepwei aamir neinosyeki 'n-gīshu.

Naa, ten ēari 'l-osōhwani, naa ol-chōni eitauni, p' eitaunye 'l-muran il-lofigoi, neitauni sii 'mōwarak, p' eitái 'n-gidofigita náidofigyeki 'mashon. Neitaa sii 'l-oibonok in-gidofigita naapika 'soito le-'n-aibon.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo.

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies.

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own 35,000 head of cattle and 250,000 goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago.

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-le-Ṗatureshi.

Ten eiyōu ol-tuñgani araki en-gerai oo-'l-Maasae neitau ol-alashe araki eng-anashe, neisho ol-tureshi. Naa, ten eipoto 'n-garn, nējo Ṗatureshi.

The ceremony of the red bead.

When a Masai wishes to make a person his brother or sister, he gives that person a red bead, called ol-tureshi. After performing this ceremony, they call one another Patureshi, i.e. The giver and receiver of a bead, instead of by their proper names.

Il-tiloi.

Nēji en-dōki najo 'l-Maasae, 'L-tiloi.

Ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa e-ñgorōyōni namwei, p' ēosh ol-ōshi-taritiki ōji Ol-tilo, amu ājo, 'Til-til-til,' te-'matwa e-kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere emwei naleñg. Naa, ten ēosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani aiñguraa ol-lee ōmwei, nēosh ol-tilo kedyanye, neiyōlōu 'njere memwei naleñg. Ore, ten ēosh ol-le-tatēne, neiyōlōu 'njere ēā ōlo aiñguraa.

Ore, ten elo ol-tuñgani ol-arabal araki en-jore, neniñg ol-tilo ēorito te-'matwa e-tatēne, neiyōlōu ajo emir lekwa colo aarare. Naa, ten ēosh ol-le-kedyanye, nerinyo, amu eiyōlo 'njere epwei aamir.

Ore ten elo ol-tuñgani 'ng-añgite, nēosh ol-tilo

Omens.

The Masai believe in what they term Il-tiloi, or omens.

If a man goes to visit a woman who is ill, and the bird which is called Ol-tilo[1], on account of its note, cries on his left hand, he knows that the woman is very ill indeed. Should the bird utter its cry on his right hand, he knows that the woman is on a fair way to recovery.

If a person visits a man who is unwell, and hears the same bird crying on his left hand, he knows that the man is only indisposed; but on the other hand, if a bird cries out on the right side of the road, he knows that the man will die.

Again, if a man goes to fight or to raid and hears the Tilo bird crying on his right hand, he knows that he will be successful. Should the sound come from the left hand, he will return home again, as he knows he will be beaten.

If a man is going to pay a visit and hears a Tilo bird behind him, it

[1] *Mesopicus spodocephalus*, Bp.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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787 825 te-kurum, nējo: 'Sidai, amu aapwei áisho ol-origha latonío te-'ng-añg nalo.'

Ore ten ēorito 'l-kumok te-kurum, elo ol-tuñgani 'n-gwapi, nesiōyo amu ājo esha eng-al.

Ten elo ol-tuñgani e-wēji, pe enañgaro ol-tuñgani ōbo, naa ol-tilo torono, elo kake eiyōlo 'njere metum en-dōki nalo aiñgoru.

is a good omen, and he may expect to be received hospitably.

Should a person be travelling and hear several of these birds behind him, he must hasten, as it is a sign of rain.

If a man is going anywhere and meets another man walking alone, it is a bad sign: he continues on his way, but he knows that his journey will be in vain.

'L-oibonok.

787 Eata 'l-oibonok in-dōkitin oñgwan naadolye 'l-limot naapwōnu.

Nēji en-naiteru na en-gidoñg, neiyōlōu 'njere elōtu en-dōki naje te-'n-gikenata oo-'soito.

Ore eng-ae, ten ēyeñg engine, neiñgor i-monyit, neiyōlōu 'n-dōkitin naapwōnu, anaa engăa, araki kulye-tōkitin.

Ore eng-ae, ten ēok in-aishi ore pe emerayu, neliki 'l-tuñganak in-dōkitin naaaku akenya.

Ore eng-ae, ten eirura p' eidetidet, neliki ol-orere 'njere: 'Atadua en-dōki naje te-'n-gidetidet.' Neiruk ol-orere, na ten emuta 'l-arin kumok, meidim ol-orere aatājo el-lejare,

The medicine-men.

Medicine-men have four methods of divining future events.

The first is by means of a buffalo or ox horn. A handful of stones[1] is thrown in, and they know what is going to happen by the number which fall out when the horn is shaken.

The second is by examining the entrails of a goat which they slaughter. From what they see there they are able to predict that certain things will come to pass, such as epidemics, &c.

The third method is when they drink honey-wine and get drunk. They are then able to prophesy what will take place.

The fourth method is by dreams. They tell people what they saw in their dreams, and it is believed to be a prophecy. Should the dream not come true after an interval of some years, people cannot say it is

[1] *Vide* note on p. 328.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

eanyu ake aajo eaku en-netājo ol-oiboni.

Ore ten ēosh ol-oiboni engidoñg, pe etii 'l-tuñganak oopwōnu te-'ng-oitoi, nējōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Añgas apal, amu meishoru 'n-gejek oo-'l-tuñganak oopwōnu aaosh.' Eiyōlo aii ten epwōnu 'l-tuñganak te-'n-nelakwa.

Naa, ten ebonu ol-oiboni en-dōki, nemera meibalaki 'l-tuñganak; eranyu too-'n-gitanyanyukot, neiruk il-tuñganak.

Anaa ol-oiboni opa ōji Menye-Ñgupe, neibonōki 'l-muran le-Kilepo ooiyōu nepwo en-jore, nerany, ājo:

'Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Kilepo ēaraki.
Purpuri 'l-oiñgok,
Naataaraite en-duñgoti.'

Nepwo 'l-muran le-Kilepo en-jore, nēar il-Akaen, netum e-matwa oo-'n-gishu, nelau 'l-kulikae.

Nējo: 'Etabaiya en-opa-natējo ol-oiboni.'

Ore 'l-oibonok pōkin il-Aiser, le-'ng-aji oo-'n-Gidoñgi, naji en-o-'l-Oimooja araki en-e-'Sigiriaishi. Ore Ol-Oimooja o E-Sigiriaishi 'n-gera o-'l-le-Mweiya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen. 787

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or ox horn, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophecy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply. [533]

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngupe made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang: 787 726 [533]

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kahe[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimooja or of E-Sigiriaishi[2], the sons of Ol-le-Mweiya[3]. 791 614 [173]

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The son of sickness (?).
[3] The Somali.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin Ol-Ônana ol-kitok lenye. Ninye egel il-Maasae pôkin, nêjo ol-aitoriani lenye.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Nêji Ol-Ônana en-gerai e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gerai e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gerai e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gerai e-Kipepete, o-Kipepete en-gerai e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gerai e-Kidoñgoi, o Kidoñgoi en-gerai e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepete, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongoi, who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 773 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok nêji enotôki Ol-le-Mweiya eton te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ôtadôuo te-'ng-ai. Netum il-Aiser, nêjo en-gerai amu oti naleñg, nerik añg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, nelu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-nêä, nêjôki 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nne.' Ti-araki naa nêja pe melam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.'

791 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin li-opa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Nêji opa eton eitu epwônu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuñganak: 'Epwônu akenya 'l-tuñganak ooibor kullo-oabon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore aii inna-kata eton eitu

Again, before he died he told

[103] [1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lamuyu. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-oñgu e-'m-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo lo-'l-le-Mweiya.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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ēä, nējōki 'l-tuñganak: 'Endura, amu emuta 'n-gīshu. Ore en-dōki ninderitere aadol naa 'l-ojoñga ooän in-gäk anaa 'l-ōtorok. Neiter sii 'l-chañgit aaä, neitōki taa 'n-gīshu.'

Nesipayu nenna ṗokirare: nepwōnu 'l-Aisungun, nēä 'n-gīshu.

Ore ēä 'n-gīshu, nēä sii ninye 'M-Batyany.

Ore etaa en-nēä, neipot il-paiyani le-Matapato, a ol-osho ōtamanya, nējōki: 'Emindur to-'l-osho linyi, amu alo aä; nairiwaki 'ndae 'n-gīshu te-'ng-aï. Naa, tini induruduru, niää te-'mweiyan o-'l-minjaloi, nemuta 'n-gīshu ṗôkin, niararere 'l-mañgati oogol, nēari 'ndae. Ore en-gerai ai naisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni, ninye ol-oiboni linyi. Endaas imbaa naajōki 'ndae.'

Nējōki 'l-paiyani ṗôkin: 'Aiya,' nepwo.

Ore ṗ' eidiṗ aashom, neipot 'M-Batyany en-gerai enye kitok ōji Sendēu, nējōki: 'Tayōku amu aiyōu náisho 'n-dōkitin o-'l-oiboni.'

Nējo Sendēu: 'Aiya,' nelo airura.

Ore ējōkīno kunna, neniñg Ol-Ōnana oisudori ti-atwa ol-ale loo-'l-asho, neinyōtōto tadēkenya, nelo eng-aji e-menye, nējo: 'Papa, aēuo.'

the people to move their grazing grounds, 'for,' he said, 'all the cattle will die. You will first of all see flies which make hives like bees, then the wild beasts will die, and afterwards the cattle.'

Both of these prophesies have come true: the Europeans have arrived, and the cattle died.

Mbatian himself died while the cattle plague was raging (circa 1890).

When on the point of death, he called the elders of Matapato, the sub-district in which he lived, and said to them: 'Do not move from your country for I am about to die, and I will send you cattle from heaven. If you move, you will die of small-pox, your cattle will all perish, you will have to fight with a powerful enemy, and you will be beaten. I wish my successor to be the son to whom I give the medicine-man's insignia. Obey him.'

The elders said: 'Very well,' and left.

When they had gone, Mbatian called his eldest son Sendeyo[1], and said to him: 'Come to-morrow morning for I wish to give you the medicine-man's insignia.'

Sendeyo replied: 'Very well,' and went to lie down.

While this was taking place, Lenana, who had hidden himself in the calf-shed, overheard the conversation. He arose early in the morning and went to his father's hut. On his arrival he said: 'Father I have come.'

[1] Lenana is sometimes said to be the eldest son of Mbatian.

*648 175

Sir Charles Eliot's report.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1901, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Nairobi. . . . .

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Batyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognized as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's familiar spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives £6 13s. 4d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

[791 1887]

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Nairobi.

Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 5th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1895, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatsoever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1902.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 18th of April, 1903, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing red blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of nudity, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Nairobi cattle show."

[791 1908]

Later in his report he writes:—"The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of this Protectorate, form the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles . . . . . One company at Nairobi is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike powers of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capacities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to cultivate, and if we are effectively to stop their ancient occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well: they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn, and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoying, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect strayed porters, and tend sick men left behind

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unclogged by his body. Moran believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

The organisation of these deputations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area.

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgments, or visit bomas collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open baraza and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanak often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got this necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order.

The relations between senior laigwanak and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanak must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease.

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanak move from their areas, more especially during elderhood. A senior laigwanan of the Kiteto lives at Naberera, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engaruka at Piaya ,each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. Other officials — the launon — magico-religious position — his duties — the ol buro engene — the losurutya.

At the unoto, or promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Launon, — *ol aunoni* pl. *il aunok*, — or Olotuno. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the unoto, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, so the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the launon takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set.

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the launon appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity.

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the launon as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

/18 cont./

791 dare to appear unsummoned before the mighty one. Thus, the Masai living on the military station of Moschi /Moshi/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Masai servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening [648] of the Masai. By letting the rapacity of the warriors spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless friction of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat must inevitably come if he predicts it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to [755] war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a [782] rule in the form /19/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplication [787] feasts in honor of the Masai god 'Ng ai. He reads the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a neat's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called en gidon. The office of ol oiboni is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

791 The Masai do not know much to say about the genealogical 613 tree of the El oibonok. The first four or five names that it contains 173 belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are: 791 Kidonoi, Geriga, Bargumbe (Bamjumbe), and Lesigirieschi. The 175 next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibebete, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Sitonik, who

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recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiborón mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el duŋganak oirorié ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borōr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siṅgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [301] [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijōk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] [721] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borōr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/201 cont./ Later, upon passing
764 [765] the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

• [787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being. [782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 [791] [613] [764] [737] In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

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776 821 [177] moon as masculine, corresponding to their word formation, eŋg oloń and ol aba. That this view is not peculiar to the Masai, but was somewhat uncritically adopted by them is evident from the fact that to a question about the reason for it one is given a very childlike reply, if any at all. "The sun has to work all day, the moon only a few hours at night, consequently the overworked sun is probably a woman, corresponding to the earthly performance of work!" Others again have the sun and moon married; sometimes the former is the man, sometimes the woman in this marriage; it is only certain that both travel, one behind the other, toward the west, where the common hut stands in the clouds. Where the tendency toward personification [177] of natural phenomena is peculiar to a people, one must expect that firm views exist at least about the most important and most frequent ones, and therefore the uncertainty in these explanations also shows that it is a matter of something that the Masai adopted, without having any understanding of them.

The first-born child of 'Ng ai, the girl Barsâi, brings to human beings the greatest benefit, the rain, and thereby shows that God is satisfied with the doings on earth. His eldest son, Ol gurugur, announces through thunder and lightning that God is angry with human beings because of their bad behavior and at the same time admonishes them to improve. A rainbow is the sign that God is satisfied with the doings of the Masai and is therefore well disposed toward them. Wind and storm are the raging of a wrathful God. Hail announces coming rain. A fireball (bolide) shows that now plentiful rain will fall and 821 • 787 that the people will be spared misfortunes, such as livestock epidemics and pox. A comet, on the other hand, means misfortune; sickness and death will befall human beings and livestock. Upon the appearance of a very bright comet in the eighties there soon followed the great livestock epidemic, rinderpest and tuberculosis.

821 776 The Milky Way is the path along which the children of 'Ng ai wander as bright stars. From here they observe the doings of mankind and report on them to God. Other stars are his eyes; now and then one of them shoots forward from there toward the earth, in order to see more accurately -- a shooting star. Venus, which the Masai call en kilegen, announces rain through particularly bright

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821 light. The nubes minor and major /the two Magellanic Clouds/ are
[1176] two lakes from which the cattle of 'Ng ai drink. The Pleiades
(ñ gokwa), through their rising in the west, announce the onset of
the great rainy season named after them. In Orion λ and the two
small stars beside it form a constellation called 'ñ golia = the
widows. The stars δ, ε, ζ, ϑ and the two small stars on a line with
it form another constellation. In it δ, ε and ζ are three el moruo
who are about to marry three widows. /207/ This constellation is
called 'ñ gapiak = the remarried widows, in contrast to the three
[1176] 'ñ golia, who stand alone. The two large stars in Centaurus (ol
orugo) and the four principal stars in the Southern Cross are boys who
• [1187] tend the cattle of 'Ng ai, which are represented by the small stars of
the Milky Way. A ring around the sun or moon heralds rain. For
the warriors on an expedition this phenomenon is regarded as prom-
ising rich spoils. Just as sun and moon have made a kraal for them-
selves, so will the warriors on their way have to lay out such a one
for the captured livestock (1).

[823] 1. For the cardinal points (e' lubot Eńg ai =
the sides of God) the Masai have the following
names: North = Kŏpekŏb or Kăpekŏb, which
also designates the land of the original home.
South = o' mĕroi, i.e., the battle; it is the
direction in which the Masai traveling south
always had to endure new battles against the
long-settled el meg. East = engilebunoto eńg
oloń = the sun rises. West = endoijeroto eńg
olon = the sun sets.

782 In case of distress, danger, sickness, or other calamities, all the
people pray to God. Otherwise the men say a prayer mostly only on
special occasions, whereas the women pray daily, mornings and
[184] evenings. Children do not pray at all in some districts, in others only
the girls pray, and in still others all children learn it at the age of
[823] six to eight, usually through their mother. In praying, one turns the
face to the north, or in the morning toward the rising sun and in the

/218 cont./

692 only in putting forward property claims, and then only in the rare cases in which self-help is not preferred to legal procedure. The prosecution of a punishable deed does not take place by official action, but only on the basis of a complaint raised by the injured party. Judicial proceedings are generally customary.

685 The procedure in the penal case of a livestock theft, which occurs frequently, is to be shown. It is to be assumed that an ox has been stolen in the pasture. If the boy tending the livestock observed the theft, he notifies the owner of the herd (father or brother of the herdsman) upon coming home in the evening. Otherwise the wives of the owner, in looking over the livestock, immediately notice the loss, since they know every head precisely. All the conversation in the kraal only revolves around the theft, and through that it becomes known on that same evening, not only in the home kraal, but also in the neighboring ones. The friends of the one robbed declare themselves ready to pursue the thief and track down the stolen head of cattle. If their investigation leads [692] to their discovering the ox or parts of it, so that the thief can be convicted, there are as a rule no judicial proceedings, since the perpetrator and his accomplices usually immediately declare themselves ready to pay the customary fine. If, however, the investi- [787] gation is without success, the person robbed turns to a sorcerer [694] (ol goiatiki), who, on the basis of an oracle (eá gídod), gives him a description of the appearance of the thief, whereupon the one robbed will accuse of the theft a man who fits this description. The 695 one so accused appears in the following proceedings as defendant, 685 in the same way as, say, one who is charged on circumstantial [693] evidence. The one robbed selects as leader of the proceedings a respected old man who must have formerly once been speaker of [202] the warriors. This man determines /219/ the day and place of the [237] proceedings and has this announced by a crier, who goes to the neighboring kraals, draws attention to himself by blowing a kudu or oryx horn, and informs the approaching people about the matter. Further, the judge summons plaintiff, defendant, and possibly witnesses by messengers. If the defendant refuses to appear, he is forcefully led up by friends of the plaintiff. Anyone may appear a as a witness. Relatives of the defendant may refuse both to give

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595 585 oi mɔmai l eŋ gaan, the ordeal of the bow. A bow is placed on the ground and a magic horn is set at either end of it. This is a goat horn that is filled with a medicine made by a sorcerer. As soon as the defendant has stepped over the bow, his lot will be, if he is guilty, the punishment of God, that is, in this case death. The effect of the ordeals rests on the firm belief in them. The guilty one is convinced that the punishment of God will have to strike him. He imagines that he is ill and sees his salvation only in an open [583] confession. He goes to the one robbed, confesses his deed, pays the customary fine, and begs for forgiveness. Only by gaining the latter can he escape the consequences of the false oath. The one robbed [592] must in this case -- if he himself does not wish to invite the punishment of God on himself -- grant the pardon and does so through words and spittings, whereby at the same time a friendship is initiated between the two. Besides the aforementioned ordeals there are two others which are not accompanied by curses. The oi mɔmai l oi origa l en gulupuk or oi mɔmai l oi origa l eŋ gob = the ordeal of the stool made of earth. The defendant must sit down on a specially prepared lump of earth. If this crumbles under him, he is regarded as guilty. The other one, the oi mɔmai l eŋ gine (of the goat), is used only if the defendant is a non-Masai. The defendant, standing, takes a goat between his legs and cuts an ear off it. If the blood issuing from the cut spatters him, he is guilty.

The majority of the assembly decides whether and which oi mɔmai is to be used. The accused must submit to the ordeal, and, to be sure, only he alone. He may not substitute a proxy. It is never used against witnesses and plaintiff. The ordeal always constitutes the conclusion of the session, which the leader then terminates with the same prayer with which he began it.

If the ordeal has done no harm to the defendant within ten to fourteen days, he is completely cleared of suspicion. The one [589] robbed turns to a sorcerer (if he had already turned to such a one for the first proceedings, he now goes to another one), who again, through the eŋ gidoŋ, gives a description of the guilty one. As soon as the one described is found, there are proceedings against him.

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Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an ol gojatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Her tens or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Aá or an ol Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.